UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

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The Churches and Universities

By JOSEPH ERNEST McAFEE

Further Reflections on India and the Press

By REGINALD A. REYNOLDS

What About Spain?

By WILFRED WELLOCK

Jewish and Christian Missionary Efforts

By MYRON W. JACOBS

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

"To Chicago"

The "To Chicago" Plan, an account of which was carried in the press on March 28, is meeting with widespread approval and great success.

Women from all states and young people from the colleges will converge upon Chicago in June to demand of both political parties definite programs for the protection of the people against the war system and its financial burdens. They will give party leaders a chance to "see public opinion." The plan is not directed by any organization but is sponsored by a group of women acting as individuals. Those signing the letter calling for action are Miss Katharine Anthony, New York; Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, Missouri; Mrs. Florence Brewer Boeckel, District of Columbia; Mrs. G. L. Buland, Oregon; Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, Colorado; Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Vermont; Miss Zona Gale, Wisconsin; Miss Alice W. Hunt, Rhode Island; Mrs. L. D. McEachern, Georgia; Mrs. Oscar S. Marx, Illinois; Mrs. Arthur J. McGuire, Minnesota; Mrs. Kathleen Norris, California; Mrs. Lottie Holman O'Neill, Illinois; Miss Jeannette Rankin, Montana; Mrs. Marian D. Tomlinson, Illinois; Mrs. Maurice N. Weyl, Pennsylvania, and Miss Emma Wold, District of Columbia. The Committee of Organization consists of the Honorable Jeannette Rankin, the first woman member of Congress; Mrs. Florence Brewer Boeckel, author of "Between War and Peace," and Miss Emma Wold, at one time chairman of the Women's Committee for World Disarmament.

Organizations are cooperating. The National Council for Prevention of War is contributing office space and stenographic help for correspondence. Luther Tucker, President of the Intercollegiate Disarmament Council, is sending a call to the young people in colleges. The National Council of Jewish Women has formally endorsed the project; the Women's International League and the Young Women's Christian Association have given practical assistance.

The plan is as follows:

1. As far as possible all delegates and state committee men and women will be made aware before they leave home that there is strong sentiment in their districts for definite action by the parties in the interest of world peace.

2. At least one automobile carrying from two to four women will travel from each state to Chicago. It would, of course, be most impressive if every national organization working for peace could send one car from every state. The cars wherever possible will leave from the state capital with a proper send-off from the women of the state and word from the governor. Speeches will be made along the route, and in as many towns as possible the

(*Continued on page* 159)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

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ROMAIN ROLLAND APPEALS FOR CHINA

Nous en appelons!

Au nom de la Chine assaillie—au nom de l'URSS menacée—au nom des peuples de la terre—au nom des grands espoirs de l'humanité, que suscitent et soutiennent en nous le réveil des races d'Asie opprimées et l'héroïque reconstruction de la Russie prolétarienne, je crie: A l'aide! Aux assassins!—Et je dénonce, à la face du monde, l'ignoble mensonge des gouvernements d'Europe et d'Amérique, en premier lieu de celui de France, dont une poignée d'aventuriers au service des marchands de canons allongent sur la terre leurs mains rapaces et utilisent l'impérialisme militaire du Japon comme la hache du bourreau, pour trancher les têtes de la Révolution.—Et je dénonce la trahison de cette classe intellectuelle, qui en d'autres temps fut la vigie qui se tient à la hune du vaisseau et qui le mene dans les tempêtes,—qui aujourd'hui bassement achête sa quiétude et son confort par son silence ou ses flatteries de laquais qui sert les intérêts et les vengeances des maîtres de l'or et des honneurs.—Et je dénonce la Foire sur la Place de Genève, la pîtrerie de la Société des Nations.

Et j'en appelle à la conscience, qui sommeille, des meilleures forces de l'Europe et de l'Amérique. Et j'en appelle à la conscience de la Force colossale, qui s'ignore, de tous les peuples de l'univers, pour trancher le noeud de serpents de tous les fascismes ploutocratiques et militaires qui vont demain enserrer la terre,—pour broyer l'oeuf de la Conspiration—et pour sceller l'union des masses travailleuses de toutes les races délivrées.

ROMAIN ROLLAND.

We Appeal to Public Opinion!

In the name of China ruthlessly attacked—in the name of the threatened U. S. S. R.—in the name of all the peoples of the earth—in the name of the great hope of humanity, roused and sustained in us by the awakening of the oppressed races of Asia and of the heroic reconstruction of the workers of Russia, I cry out: Help! Murderers!

And I denounce to the face of the world the ignoble lie of the governments of Europe and America, above all of the French government of which a handful of adventurers in the pay of munition manufacturers stretch over the earth their greedy hands and use the military imperialism of Japan as the axe of the henchmen to cut off the heads of the Revolution.

And I denounce the treason of that intellectual class which in other times was the lookout at the top-mast of the ship and who steered it in the tempest, which buys contemptibly its complacency and comfort through its silence or its servile flattery which serves the interests and the vengeance of the masters of gold and honors.

And I denounce the Circus on the Place of Genève, the clownery of the League of Nations.

And I appeal to the sleeping conscience of the mighty forces of Europe and America. And I appeal to the conscience of the mighty Force which is unaware of itself, to all the people of the universe to cut off "the knot of snakes" of all the plutocratic military facism which tomorrow will encircle the earth, to crush the egg of conspiracy and to seal the union of the laboring masses of all the liberated races.

ROMAIN ROLLAND.

The tide of revolt in India is rising steadily. The censorship is now so tight that very little news is reaching our American newspapers, and what comes through is obviously favorable to the Empire. But every now and then there appears a report which carries implications too subtle and significant for the stupid censorship mind to understand. For example, when the recent raids were made on the meeting of the National Congress at New Delhi, which resulted in the arrest of Madame Naidu and several hundred members of the Congress, there appeared in the New York *Times,* as we suppose in other American newspapers, an Associated Press dispatch which read as follows:

> "Several hundred other delegates to the Delhi Congress were arrested in various parts of India today. Many non-political prisoners were being released before the expiration of their terms to make room for Nationalist civil resisters, 50,000 of whom, it is estimated, already are in jail. . ."

The meaning of this report is obvious! The flood of arrests for violation of the special ordinances of the imperial government, for boycotting, picketing, non-payment of taxes, etc., has now mounted so high that there are not enough prisons in India to take care of the condemned patriots. Fifty thousand of these patriots, according to the above dispatch, are now behind the bars. More accurate estimates, received through private sources, place the total as high as seventy or eighty thousand. In any case there is no more room, and the government is now doing the amazing thing of releasing criminals in order that Indian Nationalists may be accommodated in the jails. When the British authorities get to the point where they are willing to have thieves, robbers, murderers and other criminals at large in society rather than Nationalists, one has little difficulty in understanding how hard pressed they are and how triumphant therefore is the revolutionary movement. And now history repeats itself! For we seem to recall an old story about a man named Barabbas, who was a thief in prison, and a man named Jesus, who had been arrested for "stirring up the people" against the government. In this case Jesus went into prison and Barabbas came out. British governors in India today are quite like Roman governors in Palestine yesterday.

The sweeping victory of the Hitlerites in the Diet elections in Germany on April 24th last confirms everything that UNITY has been saying in recent weeks. It is pitiful to see the efforts now being made by our American newspapers to explain the triumph of the "Nazis" whose overthrow and collapse had been definitely announced after the election of President Hindenburg. As a matter of fact, of course, the presidential voting only indicated the latest high-water mark of the flood-like National Socialist movement, and now these elections in Prussia, Bavaria, and elsewhere, show the engulfing waters to be still rising. The fact that they didn't quite overtop the dam and thus swallow up the nation is giving our ignorant or foolishly optimistic press great comfort. But this means nothing, just as the election of Hindenburg meant nothing. To be cheerful in the face of what is now happening in Germany is to be like the man who fell from the top of the Empire State Building, and exclaimed, as he flew past the 18th floor, "Well, I'm all right so far." The rise of Hitlerism is beyond all question the most amazing political phenomenon of our time. We believe that history would have to be searched far and long to find anything to match it. In the last Prussian Diet, for example, which was chosen on May 20, 1928, the "Nazis" won 6 seats—in this last election, they won 162 seats, a total only a little short of twice that of the next nearest party, the once all-powerful Social Democrats. On March 13th Hitler's followers registered more than 1,000,000 *more* votes than they registered in the presidential poll, a gain of something like 12 per cent in a little over a month. And this in the face of such repressions and persecutions at the hands of the dictatorship as can be found nowhere today outside of Italy! What wonder that the National Socialists celebrated in Berlin with loud cries of "Hail, Hitler!" If Germany does not fall into the hands of the "Nazis" in short order, it will be because the continent of Europe has sunk into the sea, or the Versailles Treaty has been revised. Both contingencies are unlikely.

This sudden enthusiasm for recognition of Russia is a funny thing. Almost as funny as the sudden enthusiasm for the independence of the Philippines! What has happened to change the minds of our public men on matters wherein they had fixed and immutable principles to which they must be faithful? The answer is easily found in the age-old truth that ethical principles were never made to stand up against economic interests. It has been discovered that if the Philippines are granted independence, the Islands will fall outside the existing tariff-wall, and thus their products be shut off from competition with perfectly good American products. Ergo! The same holds true of Russia. This is a time of terrible depression; there are unlimited trade opportunities in the land of the Soviets; these opportunities are being lost by our denial of political recognition. So recognition must come, even though every principle of our national life is outraged by it. For what is there in a principle, that it should not be thrown away when it stands in the way of a profit? But there is a darker side still to this recognition flare-up. It concerns the Sino-Japanese difficulty in Asia, with its possible entanglement with Russia on the far borders of Manchuria. This crisis may break out any day into an open Japanese attack upon Russia, with resulting war. With this prospect in sight, America must of course be in a position to sell abundant arms and ammunition to the Soviets, and we cannot hope to do this in successful competition with economic rivals unless we have received Russia into the circle of our friends. Then there are anti-Japanese fanatics, to be numbered by the millions in this country, who want us to oppose Japan—i. e., support Russia—in any far eastern conflict that may arise. For this alliance, political recognition is indispensable. Hence are many who have long opposed recognition on highest moral grounds, now enthusiastically for it. We have ourselves, of course, long been advocates of recognition of Russia. We would rejoice to have it come. But it gives us a bitter feeling to see the goal won for such reasons, as it gives us an alarmed feeling to see it held to the use of such ends.

S. O. Levinson's remarkable article on "Economic Recovery" (UNITY, April 18th, page 103) appeared at a most timely moment. Concerned largely with the settlement of the debt question, it was published only a few days after "Al" Smith's speech at the Jefferson Day banquet in Washington, proposing that we forget the debts for twenty years and deduct from their total 25 per cent of whatever American goods may be purchased by our debtors during this period; and a few days before the calm ignoring of the debts by the English Chancellor of the Exchequer in his new budget. The ideal settlement of the whole problem, we firmly believe, is the cancelling of the debts, as of course the inevitable settlement of the reparations question is the formal cancelling of what Germany will not and indeed cannot pay. The nations of Europe are bankrupt—why not recognize the fact and begin again? It is this which Mr. Levinson sees so clearly and states so ably. But he also sees, with realistic vision, that this question is fantastic. American public opinion will no more agree to wipe out the obligations owed us by the Allied Powers, than it will agree to join the League of Nations. It is this situation which Mr. Levinson attempts to meet in a plan which for rigor, comprehensiveness, and feasibility outmatches anything that has come from the so-called statesmen of the world. "Al" Smith's proposal, in comparison, is silly; Neville Chamber-

lain's is impudent. The adoption of the Levinson plan would mark the first real step toward general economic recovery. It would be like putting a bankrupt business into the hands of a receivership, and nursing it back to health. But that this plan, or any such plan, is likely to be worked out and adopted by existing national governments, is something more than doubtful. Much more likely is it that the faltering and paltering of the last few years will be continued, with one knows not how many or how serious attendant disasters. Meanwhile, we await the Lausanne Conference in June. This will show us what is in the offing.

The stock market has an economic significance which is altogether exaggerated. We agree with General Dawes that the Wall Street Exchange, when set against the background of the world depression, is just a kind of "peanut stand," that's all. Its President, Mr. Whitney, is a man so utterly unimportant that one marvels that senators should have spent days in questioning him. But if the stock market has no economic significance, it has a moral significance which is immeasurable. In the activities that go on inside the Exchange, and outside on the curb, we see as in a mirror the moral temper of the American people. Here is a business, if we may call it such, conducted on principles which have no imaginable relation to anything that man has learned to recognize as ethical. In their dealings with one another, of course, the brokers and their agents are impeccable in all such matters as keeping their word, fulfiling their promises, standing by a bargain, and so on. There is honor among these men exactly as there is honor among thieves. But the system which they operate—margins, short selling, and all the rest—is simply one vast tissue of moral falsity. Then, into this web of deceit and plunder, come the great and general public, the American people, a small minority to purchase legitimate securities for investment, the great majority to gamble for huge profits at the price of somebody else's huge losses. Money-lust—hot, hectic, bleary-eyed, rotten-hearted money-lust—this is the passion that drives these myriads of men and women into this disreputable game of chance. Even in days like the present, these greed-sucked humans can't keep away, but must play for profits on a falling as well as a rising market. Prosperity or poverty, it's all the same. America is simply an opportunity to get rich quick, and fool is he who doesn't play the game. One would think that October, 1929, would have taught a lesson. But not so! We are as money-mad as ever. It is in revealing this fact that the stock market has importance. One may well ponder the revelation and ask its meaning for the future.

The denial of freedom to Tom Mooney is a thing so terrible that it shakes one's faith in government and law. If we thought this were the sober judgment of the American people, we could wish this nation wiped out as Sodom was wiped out for its sins. But the people are not guilty of this thing, not even the people of California, but a Governor too weak and politically ambitious to act in defiance of the prejudice and hate which have wreaked vengeance upon an innocent man these fifteen years gone by, and know no repentance to this hour. One has only to read the opinion of Judge Sullivan, the legal advisor of Governor Rolph, to feel the intensity of this passion of the powers-that-be against Tom Mooney. Once again the prisoner is convicted not on evidence of his alleged crime but on the record of his former labor activities and his "red" opinions. He is charged once more to prove his innocence, as though in California there were no precedent for assuming a man to be innocent until and unless he is proved guilty. And in this latest decision, as in the others preceding it, there is no answer to the perjury which convicted Mooney in his trial. Only one thing in all Judge Sullivan's diatribe pleases us, and that is his fitting ridicule of the Mayor of New York, whose intrusion into the case for his own political ends and purposes probably did more to upset Mooney's chances in this latest hearing than anything else. Yet these chances were small under any condition. But of course this does not end the story. It is only one more chapter in a tale which can have no *finis* save that of Mooney's restoration to liberty. So the fight goes on, and will go on. For let it be clearly understood that there will be no peace in this republic until justice is done, however belatedly, in a case which has no parallel in history save only that of Dreyfus.

The Churches and the Universities

A chasm is apparently deepening between the church and the university. Scientific attitudes and methods are universally employed by the latter while most of our churches persistently resist them. The difference is not finally one of fact nor even of theory. Recent history seems to reveal an antagonism which current amenities cannot cover. Fundamental attitudes towards truth and reality are involved. Enmity between the two is recognized, and frankly accepted by many of the churches. Whenever scientists change their minds or one group explodes theories which have been fondly cherished by other groups, a shout of assumed triumph arises from large elements in the churches. Science has been worsted; scientific vaga-

ries have been exposed; the everlasting truths of ecclesiastical religion have somehow been vindicated by this self-defeat of the church's arch foe.

This silly practice has been going on for two or three generations. Many in the churches have still not discovered how silly it is. They cannot be made to understand that science does not stand or fall with isolated facts nor with today's scientific conclusions or theories. Scientists experience no shame or discomfiture when they are compelled to change their minds or to renounce the notions of which they were confident yesterday. Learning is the glory of their system. What was accepted yesterday as true is subject to revision or supersedence today. Such is the charm of the growing life.

A while ago the tests lay largely in the realm of the physical sciences. This has proved at times a veritable battlefield. Ecclesiastical religionists have resented scientific encroachments upon a field where religious doctrines were thought to have at least secondary stakes. More scientists than Galileo have been in religious toils for heresies which lay entirely in the field of the physical sciences.

In more recent years, as ecclesiastical resistance to scientific methods in the physical departments of the universities have been found futile, alarm in the churches has been assuaged by a surrender of their particular field to the physical sciences. Ecclesiastical fears for the religious ark of the covenant have been relieved by an arbitrary division of the highway between science on the one hand and ecclesiastical religion on the other. One agrees to travel by one path and the other by another. It has been assumed that the ways need never cross nor coincide. Some scientists, especially in the early days of conflict, themselves accepted this division. The classic instance is that of an eminent astronomer and a learned scholar, who was known to be a strict fundamentalist in theology. When one of his students accosted him with his inconsistency his reply was, "Young man, I advise you never to allow your science and your religion to mix."

It was concluded that a permanent truce might be arranged between the churches and scientific workers by maintaining that never should the twain meet. The function of religion was concluded to be spiritual, other-worldly; it was concerned with ultimate human destiny. Science, on its part, was expected to confine its aims and methods to the raw physical sciences.

The test is closer and the conflict becomes sharper as science extends its methods into the field of the social sciences. Here it was believed the churches had large preserves. Expert service, in at least portions of this field, could only be supplied by authorized religious leaders. It made a profound difference to many ecclesiastical religionists how society was organized and what were the goals of social endeavor. Yet, operating in this field, ecclesiastical religion held tenaciously to old and confirmed attitudes. Scientific methods of university departments of social science could not fail to run counter to methods and ideals in churches.

Here again the conflict was relieved by many ecclesiastical leaders through further restricting the field of the churches. The territory of the social sciences could not be held for ecclesiastical religion; it, like that of the physical sciences before it, was surrendered. The churches are concerned only incidentally with the life which now is. Their mission is to proclaim a gospel which shall insure salvation in another life. In so far as ecclesiastical religion is concerned with the present life it aims to set up tests which will select those qualified for assured bliss in the life to come. Thus the antagonism has again been at least measurably relieved, though not all churches and ecclesiastical leaders have been ready to make this easy surrender.

Now the issue is pressed so closely that it is difficult to see how the direct challenge can long be evaded. The universities are pushing scientific methods and attitudes into the field of the psychological sciences. They are building up a new ethics. They presume to define the methods by which character is formed. This is a direct and inescapable invasion of the field appropriated by ecclesiastical religion. For generations the churches have been definitely and vigorously functioning here. From the pulpits preaching has prescribed the formulas and methods by which character is produced. The young have been taken in hand for moral instruction. The Sunday school is now an old and thoroughly established institution of ecclesiastical religion. Most churches must stand or fall with the maintenance of this program of religious education.

Yet the limited work which has already been done by the universities in this field is directly inimical to most of the theories and methods on which ecclesiastical religion has staked its destiny. One of the pioneers in this field, now a professor in a middle-western university, conducted searching tests which showed that training in the church Sunday schools has negligible effect in character formation, if it is not, indeed, a positive deterrent to sound morals. Two groups of children were compared in one of the tests, one group having been subjected to the conventional training of the Sunday school and the other, of comparable intelligence and social status, having never attended these church schools. Actual standards of character were found to be higher among the latter. It was revealed that, so far as character development is concerned, it would be better for a child to receive no formal religious training than to be subjected to

the relatively blighting influence of the church's methods.

The issue is here clearly, and, it would seem, finally joined. It would not seem possible to practice further evasion, unless ecclesiastical religion is to become so outright and forthright otherworldly that it gives no heed whatever to the influences of the present life which are forming character and personal destiny.

Can the churches adjust themselves to the new situation? This scientific activity among the psychological sciences is already well advanced. Will the results of this scientific investigation be accepted and incorporated in the religious training of the churches? That is exceedingly doubtful. A transformation will be necessary which will sacrifice the essential nature of ecclesiastical religion and will destroy the whole fabric of dogmas and precepts upon which the churches generally stake their existence.

No dogmatic attitude will be possible. The preceptual approach in the formation of character must be discarded. No way of salvation conceived in advance and stressed with ecclesiastical rigor will be applicable. Science will demand that ethics shall grow out of the situation. No eternal immutable principles are discoverable. If discovered they would be worse than worthless for the purpose.

But this is not all. Progressive education is disallowing any detached program of religious or ethical training. The attempt of the churches to maintain their segregated program will be resisted more and more effectively by educational science. The pedagogy of the future will not permit parents or religious leaders to say, "Go to; we will now subject our children to education; after a period devoted to that regimen we will draw them aside and subject them to *religious* education." It is already determined that the cleavage in the educational process which this program involves is essentially vicious. It is not thus that character can be effectively formed. Life must be taken whole and the educational process must embody the principle. It is impossible to train in religion or to train for character independently of the whole process of education.

This seems to make the issue finally conclusive. The churches must surrender their whole program of religious education and character training. The methods of segregation which they employ, and must continue to employ so long as they are themselves, is declared to be vicious and inimical to the very process which they assume to conduct. The definite joining of this issue cannot now long be deferred. The advance in psychological sciences in our universities is already so marked as to forecast that early day. We seem to be on the eve of an era in education which will place the supreme emphasis of the process upon the psychological sciences. Once the scientific method and attitude have become dominant in this field the end of the present confusion and evasion on the part of ecclesiastical religion must come.

JOSEPH ERNEST MCAFEE.

Jottings

What's in a name? Nothing at all, when a Theodore and a Franklin D. can both be known by the name of Roosevelt.

Every political party needs a slogan. We propose for the "wet" Democrats in this campaign the ringing shout,

"Beer for Boozers."

Guatemala is using its postage stamps to advertise its coffee. Here is an idea for balancing the nation's budget! Let the United States enlarge its postage stamps, and then sell their surfaces for advertising space. The highest rate for the two-cent stamp, and other stamps graded accordingly! Cigarettes, tooth pastes, and automobiles would stand in line for this chance to "bally-hoo" their wares.

In 1928, the presidential vote in this country was as follows:

Republican	21,000,000
Democratic	15,000,000
Socialist	260,000
Communist	48,000

We commend these figures to the nervous patriots who are all the time worrying about the "reds." If there is any sign of America going radical, or even liberal, we do not see it.

Why must so many of our movie stars take the name of Joan? What is there in Miss Bennett, Miss Crawford, or Miss Harlow to suggest the Maid of Orleans? And what would the Maid think if she saw these modern specimens of womanhood?

Newspaper editors assembled in convention in New York express confidence in the press! This news is as important as that of lawyers expressing confidence in the law, or theatre managers in the drama. Let every profession express confidence in itself, and we shall all be prosperous again.

J. H. H.

Some Further Reflections on India and the Press

[From Our Special Correspondent]

Readers of UNITY who have been following my articles on India will have observed that if I have one main thesis, it is the corruption of our press. In my articles, "India and the Press" and "Strangers to the Truth," I have tried to give some general idea of how this factor operates. "The Chittagong Riots" and the present article will illustrate the point from two particular examples. These examples are by no means unique, but are chosen from a mass of possible material. I cannot over-stress their importance, because in imperial policy *the press is the obverse of the gun.* In the Twentieth Century it is recognized that force alone is powerless without the aid of "education," newspapers and other methods of propaganda.

Our political ideas are largely moulded by our conceptions of history, and it is in the newspapers that contemporary history is not only written but literally *made.* History as taught can err as much in its omissions as it does in its inventions. A story that appeared recently in an English monthly review illustrates this point in a manner that may amuse American readers. The writer, after pointing out how few Englishmen were aware that Washington was sacked by the British in 1814 (and how few Americans were *unaware* of the fact) said that he once pointed this out to an Englishman. Surprised, the Englishman replied, "What, the English burnt Washington? *I thought they only burnt Joan of Arc. . . .* " I have not this review handy, and I feel a bit hazy about the date myself. I suppose it *was* 1814, Mr. Editor?

In England the Hijli affair is already a matter of the past. Those who heard even a garbled version of the incident have mostly forgotten it. In India it is one of many bitter memories daily accumulating, and even the aged poet Tagore, who meddles little in politics, felt compelled to join in a public protest in which he said:

> No words of indignation can reach the height of condemnation that the bare fact carries upon itself. . . A people's anguished memory will burn like a sacred lamp at the shrine of the dead.

What were these "bare facts"?

In my article on Chittagong I referred to a pleasant habit the Government has in India of imprisoning inconvenient Indians for an indefinite period without trial and without the "detènus" (as they are called) even knowing why they are imprisoned. In addition to the thousands "tried" and "convicted" under the normal machinery of "Law and Order" there are now over 800 of these *detenus* in Bengal alone, according to the last Government statement available (Bengal Legislative Council, March 1st). The Government were then anticipating an increase in this number.* Similar provisions are at the disposal of other Provincial Governments, and Mahatma Gandhi himself is one of about 100 dangerous people imprisoned without trial in the Bombay Presidency.

A large number of these *detenus* were imprisoned last year (during the Irwin-Gandhi Truce, be it noted!) at Hijli, in Bengal. They seem to have been so far from recognizing the benefits of British Justice that they demonstrated against the Government even in custody, while some attempted to set fire to the buildings in which they were incarcerated. As a result orders were issued to the sentries to fire on anyone approaching within fifty yards of their posts, which were situated at intervals on the inside of a barbed wire fence that passed within five yards of the buildings!

On September 16, 1931, an incident occurred that was reported as follows in a Government communiqué of the following day and published in the Calcutta *Statesman* of September 18th:

> Shortly after 9 P. M. on Wednesday the 16th September, determined attacks were made on four sentries by bands of *detenus* of Hijli Detention Camp, Midnapore. One sentry had the bayonet pulled off his musket by his assailants, and another sentry was with difficulty saved by the timely approach of a patrol. The position of the sentries was undoubtedly grave and fire was opened to extricate them, and restore control of the camp. Two *detenus* were killed and twenty injured. Three police officers were also injured. Order was restored in less than half an hour. An enquiry is being held by the District Magistrate of Midnapore.

Within a few days stories were current in the Indian papers which gave a totally different account of the incident. According to these papers the detention barracks were surrounded by armed police and *sepoys* who fired without warning into the buildings, including the hospital, and afterwards entered the buildings where they continued the assault. The Government in a communiqué of September 21st categorically denied the entire story, and the English papers demanded the suppression of their untruthful Indian contemporaries.

In the official enquiry by the district magistrate (Mr. Douglas) and the Under-Secretary of the Political department (Mr. Hutchins) the *detenus* refused to participiate. They demanded an impartial as opposed to an official enquiry. Consequently the report, based on police evidence only, confirmed the original communiqué.

The public still remained unsatisfied and the Government with some confidence appointed a judicial committee consisting of two judges to investigate the matter further. The judges seem to have won a measure of confidence from the *detenus,* and their report when published must have been extremely disconcerting for the Bengal Bureaucrats. The following are points from their report:

> 1. We are unable to accept the version of the occurrence as given by the Constables.
> 2. There was, in our opinion, no justification whatever for the indiscriminate firing (some twenty-nine rounds were found to have been fired).
> 3. Some of the sepoys with no justification went into the building and assaulted some of the *detenus* there with lathis and bayonets and also fired a few shots.

The judicial report did not wholly endorse the *detenus'* version, though the reasons given for doubting it are not very convincing. The truculence of certain *detenus* on previous occasions is set forward as evidence that they could not on this occasion have abstained from violence. Their refusal to give evidence before the District Magistrate is also counted against them, in spite of the obvious reason for it.

*In certain cases, where the authorities have found definite evidence against them, *detenus* have been brought to trial. According to a recent Bengal Police Administration Report *less than 50%* of those tried in the criminal courts were convicted.

Nevertheless this judicial enquiry, though it never fully satisfied the Indian public, showed clearly that the wicked rumors in the Indian papers were substantially true and that it was the Government communiqué, so widely circulated as the "official" (and therefore "correct") version, that was false.

Christopher Ackroyd, at that time Professor of History at St. Paul's College, Calcutta, who acted so tactlessly in the Chittagong affair, added to his sins by investigating the Hijli shooting case on his own, and has recorded some additional facts that I am happy to have before me. The following are among the points that he raises:

1. Why did the *detenus* take the bayonet off the sentry's rifle, if the police version of the beginning of the affair is to be believed? If they were in such a dangerous mood, why did they not seize the rifle itself?

2. Is it likely that the police would attempt to rescue a sentry surrounded by a mob by firing into the mob, to the grave danger of the sentry?

3. How was it that a man was killed in the upper part of the building (this was confirmed in the judicial enquiry) when this would have meant raising a rifle to an angle of at least 25 degrees?

The attitude of the Government after the publication of the judicial report was interesting. The report had not only struck at the roots of its prestige, by showing how false were its glib communiqués, but it commented on the administration of the Hijli detention barracks as "deplorable."

Nothing was done to compensate the injured, or the families of the murdered *detenus*. The Commandant and Mr. Hutchins (joint author of the first, or whitewashing, report) were sent out of the way, with leave *on full salary*. After some delay, however, and much agitation, as late as February in the present year, one official was dismissed, two reduced in rank, and others suffered reductions in their salaries. "Terrorism" must be crushed, but this was only murder, and got off lightly.

On the judicial committee's report and on all facts discreditable to the Government our English press has remained absolutely silent. The murder, or attempted murder, of a British official by Indian Terrorists (who represent only an infinitesimal section of the Indian public) is given a headline and made the occasion for intense anti-Indian propaganda. The outrages that are daily perpetrated by the police against the Indian public remain unpublished in this country, or appear only in carefully garbled cablegrams censored if necessary by the Post Office or the editors or both.

Meanwhile India groans under a tyranny unequalled in her unhappy history. In my article on "Czarism in Bengal" (UNITY, Jan. 18th) I have given an example of the *Ordinance-Raj* that has spread all over India since that article was written—a step I then anticipated in predicting a fresh imperialist offensive. Life—liberty—property—nothing is now safe for 350,000,000 people in this "Brightest Jewel in the British Crown."

The appointment of Sir John Anderson to the governorship of Bengal is a sinister portent for the future. This was the man whose administration in Ireland was marked by the bloody work of the "Black and Tans." He is also said to have had a big hand in those negotiations by which our imperialists, forced to make unwilling concessions, saved the shell and husks of their empire at the cost of a treaty which brought Ireland a civil war. In India too we may look to see some such concessions offered in order to satisfy certain Indian capitalist interests to split the nationalist movement. For this we have long been prepared by glorifications of Irwin and Benn and the "conciliatory" policy of the Round Table Conference. Not with surprise, therefore, did I pick up the *Daily Herald* on April 2nd to find a eulogy on Sir John Anderson by Mr. Harold Laski. A "Labor" economist in a "Labor" paper, be it noted. Let me conclude with some gems from this article:

"Sir John Anderson, in a word, is representative of a quality in British public life too little recognized by the man in the street. . . . I think India will be glad of his coming."

Or in other words, the Indian in the street will not appreciate being shot or beaten today, but he will some day look back to it with gratitude. It seems unbelievable, but it is in the *Daily Herald,* and Faith has done greater things than this.

REGINALD A. REYNOLDS.

London, England.

What About Spain?

Life is full of surprises. We pretend to know its laws and to be able to forecast events; but it beats us again and again. It has beaten us today on every hand. We imagine we understand finance, and so have built up a banking system. We imagine we understand economics, and so have built up a system of industry and exchange. Yet the most powerful nations of the earth are just beginning to realize their profound ignorance of both these questions, and that an existence which they conceived to be a calm and neatly bounded lake is a wild and unchartered sea whose billows they are unable to control. It is verily the most amazing situation the world has ever witnessed, that, despite the thousands of volumes of wisdom which are poured out of the printing presses of the civilized world every year, powerful nations are being hurled helplessly against the hard realities of nature, driven willy-nilly by forces which they have set in motion but no longer control.

Such is our ignorance after thousands of years of civilization and two thousand years of Christianity. We want to disarm, but cannot; we are all afraid. We want to trade, but cannot; we have choked up all the channels wherein trade must flow.

Even the mighty nations like sheep have gone astray. And it is none too sure that they will find their way—at any rate before they have passed through many unexpected and perhaps painful and humiliating experiences.

This condition provides ample food for reflection. Why, for instance, should countries which have caused and are unable to prevent (although they see it coming) a world financial and economic crisis, be deemed fit to control empires? Why should Great Britain, as a principal contributor to a world catas-

trophe, claim the right to keep a hold upon India and to deny India the right of self-government?

The more we look around us today the more are we driven to the conclusion that it is the so-called backward countries which are likely to save modern civilization if, that is, it can be saved. Do as we will, and make all the excuses we desire, it cannot be gainsaid that Russia's experiment offers the only hope of salvation from the economic impasse which the present policy of the "advanced" nations has brought about. Again, the methods being pursued by Gandhi, which, in a free India he would endeavor to perfect to the extent of completely disarming that vast country, appear to offer the only way of escape from militarism and war, which at this moment are threatening the very existence of Western civilization.

Whilst we of the West have been talking glibly about "the advance of civilization," and "the backward races," Nature has been playing tricks behind our backs—and also before our eyes, for has she not given us plenty of warning of the disaster that now threatens? Whilst we sat contented, all the while being hurled into greater and greater confusion, other nations, whom we rather despised, in their simpler condition realized something of our folly, and on awakening to a sense of their backward condition, have seen the possibility of escaping many of the evils to which we have become heirs.

Thus Russia, by leaping almost at a bound from a condition of primitive agriculture to a highly organized form of Communism, has avoided most of the evils from which the capitalist-ridden West is suffering, although admittedly what she is attempting to do is still in the experimental stage.

And now Spain has made her venture—Spain, that picturesque, but alas, backward and rather hopeless land! Here also our calculations have been all wrong. We had imagined that in some mysterious way Spain had escaped all the waves of idealism which have swept across the world during the last three decades, just as she escaped the hurricane of the World War. Indeed we heard less of Spain than of all the other neutral countries during the War. I suppose we concluded that Spain was so shrouded in old world customs, and old ways of thinking that the War made no sort of impression upon her.

The recent revolution provided a much-needed corrective, and dispelled our illusions. It reminded us of the Ferrer affair twenty-three years ago and taught us that whilst we had been moving madly towards nowhere, Spain had been thinking where she should go. It was the determined decision following upon this thinking which, like a trumpet blast caused the walls of the old regime to fall down and their whilom defenders to flee. One thing at any rate is certain; such achievements as the recent Spanish Revolution are not accidents, but the outcome of years of constructive thought and labor. And because the heroes of the "coup" have much leeway to make up by reason of the backward state of their country, they are able to benefit by the mistakes of the advanced guard, and thus, perhaps, to leap into the very vanguard of progress.

Consequently most of us, I suppose, have wondered what was the real state of affairs in Spain today, what was its state of mind, what the nature of its ideals. I find it difficult to ascertain, but an important inquiry I made the other day is particularly encouraging. I called at the headquarters of the War Resisters' International, where I received some valuable and interesting information.

I had assumed that this land of knives and bull fights would not be a fertile soil for the idea of peace and anti-militarism. But I was mistaken. I found, for instance, that very recently the Sixth Congress of a Provincial Federation of Trade Unions, consisting of 254 Delegates representing 119 affiliated associations, passed a Resolution declaring war to be a crime against humanity, and pledging itself to oppose war in every shape and form, and also military service. In addition, I read correspondence from certain influential persons in Spain, who stated that as a result of the new agitation, and very pronounced attitude on this question which the workers are adopting, the Minister of War has reduced his estimate. I ought to say that three M. Ps. were present at the above congress.

In pursuing my inquiry I discovered that the Spanish workers are more alive to the dangers of the present situation in Manchuria than we are. No fewer than 6,000 workers gathered in Barcelona recently to protest against Japan's action in Manchuria, and to make it plain that the workers of Spain would on no account be drawn into war on that issue.

Further inquiry revealed that an organization known as the "Order of the Olive Tree" is doing some astonishingly good peace work among young people, and since this organization has been brought into touch with the War Resisters' International, one of its leaders, Professor Brocca, has formed a group within the Order which is definitely taking up the attitude of personal refusal to render military service. I also found that there were two other distinct movements which had found contact with the W. R. I. and were taking steps to affiliate. These contacts, of course, are tremendously helpful and inspiring to both sides. Certainly it was an inspiration to me to go through these records and to see the sort of ideas that are taking root in the new Spain.

Then I was very much struck by odd remarks here and there in the records I pursued. One very well-informed person said, quite casually, "Of course, Spain has no Imperialism, with the exception of Morocco, and there is much agitation to give up Morocco!"

I shook my head in doubt when I read that "Spaniards dislike war, military service, and conscription," but the writer went on to support his statement with facts which surprised me. He mentioned Provinces where the deserters from the army under the old regime was as high as 30 per cent in one case, and 40 per cent in another. The deserters got over the frontier and emigrated to Cuba, Havana, the Argentine, etc. Indeed, desertion and emigration had become so rife that special guards were put on the railways and at the frontiers, while schoolmasters were urged to teach the necessity of loyalty in regard to military service. But all to no purpose.

All this was extremely heartening news. Time and time again I said in my heart, "Well done, Spain!" and in leaving the office of the W. R. I., I said to Runham Brown: "Go ahead, this is magnificent; but what a pity it is we don't all know what one another are doing."

WILFRED WELLOCK.

London, England.

Jewish and Christian Missionary Efforts

Most of us are familiar with the zeal of missionary efforts to convert the Jews for the past 2000 years. We know how they have been harried and persecuted, driven from land to land, their bodies burnt to save their souls, penned into ghettoes, marked with distinctive badges and subjected to indignities by a self-exalting people who regarded them as inferior. For clinging to the faith of their fathers and resisting efforts to convert them they were incessantly accused of obstinacy and blindness.

There are churches still extant into which Jews were driven and compelled to listen to conversion sermons. This was the institution known as "predica coative," "the forced sermon." In the city of Rome at the very gates of the old ghetto such a church may be found. Over its portal may still be seen in Hebrew letters "I have spread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious people who walk in a way that is not good, after their own thoughts." This is a verse from Isaiah LXV 2 taken out of its context and misused in this fashion to represent the Jews as unheeding the voice of God.

From time to time some broad minded souls urged liberty of conscience but these were but lonely cries in the wilderness.

It was not until the United States Constitution came into being and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man was proclaimed that religious freedom was secured and Jews were recognized as citizens of the free countries of the world. These were countries in which church and state were henceforth to be apart.

Of course, this did not mean that missionary efforts were to be halted. It did mean that the stake, persecution and civic disability would no longer be the means of pursuasion.

Conversion activities have continued and at the present day we find societies "for the Promotion of Christianity among Jews," "Christian Witness to Israel" organizations, Foreign and Home Mission Boards—all working to convert the Jew.

How strongly intrenched is this missionary activity is evinced by the fact that but a few weeks ago there appeared in this city a clergyman who was described in the local newspapers "as the head of the department of work among the Jewish people" for that particular denomination. He spoke under the auspices of the missionary society of a church whose pastor I regard as among the most liberal in the city.

In the midst of discussion concerning missionary activity, the question sometimes arises about Jewish missionary efforts. Since the Jew has regarded himself as chosen to spread the knowledge of God among the peoples of the earth, is it not logical to presume that he would have missionary activity? After all does not the idea of a divine mission to mankind offer a dynamic stimulus to attain converts?

In recent days we have been particularly conscious of the varied types of Jews that may be found throughout the world.

In China we find the last remnants of a people who observed Judaism for centuries. The Hebrew Union College has acquired a large collection of their prayer books and sacred literature.

In India we hear of a dark-skinned people who practice the Jewish faith, the Bene-Israel.

In the Near East, particularly in Palestine and Arabia, there are large numbers of Yemenite Jews who look more like Arabs than Jews, showing definite traces of racial mixture.

In Central East Africa and Abyssinia there are more than 100,000 Falashas, a black-skinned people who have followed the faith of Judaism for perhaps 2000 years.

Right in the Harlem district of New York City there is a congregation of Negro Jews who claim an Abyssinian origin but are more likely to be the descendants of slaves of Portuguese Jewish masters in the West Indies.

It would be an interesting study to trace how all these far-flung peoples became Jewish and retained their Judaism; and how much the missionary effort of Jews played in this phenomenon. For it is an indubitable fact that Jews did engage in missionary work and it is due to this missionary spirit that Christianity and Mohammedanism came into existence.

Whether or not Jews should accept proselytes from other peoples has been a mooted question since Bible times. In the book of Ezra the men are ordered to discard their foreign wives. On the other hand, the book of Jonah points out God sending a messenger unto a pagan city to persuade them to reform, that after all, they too are God's children. And the story of Ruth is told to show that even David had some non-Jewish blood flowing through his veins.

Just before the Christian era, we know that there was considerable missionary activity. We even have one example of forcible conversion. John Hyrcanus, the Maccabean King, after he had gained a military victory over the Idumeans, forcibly converted them to Judaism. The Rabbis, however, severely condemn such proceeding and point out that Israel was severely punished by God for it. The most ruinous of Judean rulers, King Herod, they trace as a descendant of these converts.

There are many references to converts in the Talmud. The fact is now established that missionaries were sent unto distant lands. Two of the great Rabbis heading the San-Hedron, Shamai and Abtalion, were proselytes. The golden rule in the negative given by Hillel was in answer to a question of a prospective convert concerning the contents of Judaism. Hillel replied "That which is hateful unto thee, do not unto thy neighbor. This is the kernal, the rest is but commentary."

Paul, when he traveled throughout the Mediterranean world to gain proselytes for Christianity, always visited the synagogues, not so much for the purpose of speaking to the Jew as to those non-Jews who had accepted the principles of Judaism and were attending the synagogue but had not formally accepted the faith. The Talmud refers to these as the *Yire Adonay*, "the fearers of God."

The Jews maintained effective literary propaganda throughout the Greek speaking world, the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Bible is but an instance. The influence of the Alexandrian Jewish philosopher, Philo, who lived and wrote just previous to the birth of Christianity for the non-Jewish world of his day,

was so great on Christian thought that it has persisted to this day.

Jewish influence entered the highest circles of Rome. Aquila, a Roman noble, translated the Bible into Greek for the benefit of cultured Romans. Flavius Clemens, the cousin of the Emperor Domitian of Rome, was converted to Judaism and as a result the emperor proposed an edict forbidding Jewish proselytizing. Rabbi Gamalial headed a delegation to protest against this edict.

Of course, when Christianity became a state religion most of this missionary activity ceased and there has been very little of it unto the present day.

But throughout all its missionary efforts Judaism never had the exclusive attitude of Christianity, insisting that only by the acceptance of its dogma may one reach salvation. On the contrary, the dictum of Joshua ben Chananya, a rabbi of the second century, that is quoted in the Talmud, "The good and righteous of all peoples have a share in the future life," was universally accepted.

The psychology of the Christian in his persistent efforts to convert the Jew is a bit mystifying and difficult to understand. After all, all Christians will admit that at least on his mother's side, Jesus was a Jew. We are told that he taught universality, love and brotherhood. But Amos, the very first of the prophets whose writings we have and who lived eight hundred years before Jesus, said:

Are ye not as the sons of the Kushites unto me,
O children of Israel? saith the Lord.
Did I not bring up Israel out of the land of Egypt,
And the Philistines from Caphtor and Aram from Kir?

Did not Hosea teach that God was a God of love and mercy? And does not the very first page of the Bible teach brotherhood, showing that we are the descendants of a common ancestor? It was the prophet Malachi who asked: "Have we not one Father and hath not one God created us all."

In other words, Jesus was teaching Judaism unto his brothers. Judaism therefore is the religion of Jesus. Obviously our Christian brethren desire not that we accept the religion of Jesus, for that is Judaism, but the religion about Jesus.

This primary distinction between Christianity and Judaism does not consist in its ideals but in its traditions and a Christian theological dogma that multitudes of so-called Christians reject.

Fundamentally and basically the relation between Jew and Christian was most aptly expressed in Lessing's "Nathan the Wise," when the Knight Templar, the devout Christian, after listening to the sentiments of Nathan, the devout Jew, exclaims: "Nathan, Nathan, you are a Christian. By God, you are a Christian. There never was a better Christian!" To which Nathan retorts, "Happy we! what makes me a Christian for you, makes you a Jew for me."

MYRON W. JACOBS.

The Study Table

Sinclair's Book—and the "Movie"!

"Don't get a divorce before you see the Wet Parade!" "Before you marry see the Wet Parade!"

These and like slogans flared large upon the billboards of Los Angeles for many days before the premiere showing of the cinema version of Upton Sinclair's famous prohibition novel* at Hollywood, California. Just what relation there was between the theme of Sinclair's story, or his dealing with it, and this insinuation of sex-emphasis in the cinema version I could not figure out in advance, nor am I any wiser as to the matter after having read the book and seen the dramatic exhibit. Apparently Los Angeles, and the American public in general, from the viewpoint of those who dominate the movie industry, would not care to hear a recital of the Lord's Prayer without at least a preliminary suggestion that there might be something salacious in the use of the opening petition directed to "Our *Father*."

Whoever has read the book, and everybody ought to read it, knows that there is nothing in the novel to invite the interest of the morbid or lewd mind. Neither is there in the screen exhibit, for that matter. Between the advertiser and the Grauman version of the book there is a gap as obvious as that which often prevails between literary matter and artistic illustration in the popular magazines.

The drama, as drama, is ably done. This I felt when the last scene had faded from the canvas, despite my disappointment in earlier phases of the play. The disappointment may have been due in part to the necessary abbreviation of the book, and the elimination, for obvious reasons, of the economic aspects of Sinclair's treatment of the theme. Not that Sinclair's book is by any means either an economic treatise, or a temperance tract in any narrow use of these terms. When I read it, as I did with particular care, I laid it down with the feeling that neither "wets" nor "drys" of the ordinary partisan type would get much satisfaction out of it. The fine courage of it is shown in the author's refusal to sacrifice realism to either commercialism or prejudice. It could have been made a "best seller" by a more pronounced inclination to either side. As it is, Sinclair has given us, on a large canvas, the best presentation yet made of the indefensibleness of the liquor traffic, legal or illegal, and, on the other hand, the social shallowness of the program of Prohibition, dominated as it is by an obsolete individualism which has become the easy prey of special privilege and putrid politics. The "drys" have thus far shown little enthusiasm for either the book or the play, because generally incapable of viewing it in more than a superficial way. The "wets," as a whole, are even more incapable of rising above the infantilism of their approach to the liquor problem. They have less than a "four per cent" understanding of the impossibility of any effective social control of the liquor traffic under any legal order which allows of private profit.

The play is fragmentary as compared with the book. It is especially deficient at the point where the book is most effectively expansive, in the criticism of the clever coterie who constitute themselves leaders of the literary parade in our chief cities, and are in great degree responsible for the rotten deal which the public press has given the outlawry of the liquor traffic. It might have been expected that this phase of the novel would be lightly passed over, and therefore the omission is to be discounted in advance. On the favor-

*"The Wet Parade," by Upton Sinclair. Published by Farrar & Rinehart, N. Y.

able side of the balance, as respects the play, is the extra emphasis given the manner in which bootleg liquor is palmed off on its patrons under pretentious foreign labels, and in packages apparently dripping with their recent contact with the sea, when they are in fact "imports" from any convenient cellar where the humbug labelling and dousing in brine can be carried on. The "wet" audience, evidently in the majority at the Hollywood exhibition, laughed hilariously at this exposé of their own gullibility.

Also to the credit of the cinema version, though less realistic than Sinclair's conclusion of his novel, is the "happy ending" of the story upon the screen. Sinclair is too truthful to have attempted any such finale. None the less the corrected ending, in which the liquor gangsters are caught in their own trap and fall victims to the violence which they had planned against the Prohibition hero, will appeal to the general public more than the stark realism of the book, in which the hero is a victim immediately of the gangsters, but more remotely of our common incompetence and lawlessness. Indeed, the last scene in the play is tremendously effective; the triumphant hero-father looking upon his wife and the new-born babe, in the hospital where he goes from his victory over the liquor-gangsters, and the intimation of the new life which is manifesting in the social realm, with its promise of the more perfect triumph over the massed forces of evil.

Yes, "The Wet Parade," as Sinclair has written it, is exceptionally worth while as a novel, and as Grauman has adapted it to the screen it should be viewed and studied by everyone who can appreciate a significant creation of dramatic art.

ROBERT WHITAKER.

A Religious Anthology

This* is a book of a rare beauty. A collection of religious poetry, both eastern and western in origin, it is small in compass, and for this reason highly selective in character. In a range extending all the way from the "Rig-Veda," the oldest passages of the Old Testament, and the Greek "Hymn" of Cleanthes, down to Robert Bridges, Evelyn Underhill, and Tagore, there appear only 117 quotations in a volume of less than 125 pages.

Most of the items are well chosen from the standpoint both of literary beauty and spiritual insight. Noble selections from the world's great scriptures are interspersed with poetical passages from Spencer, George Herbert, John Milton, Matthew Arnold, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, William Cullen Bryant, Charles Kingsley, John Greenleaf Whittier, and Lord Tennyson. Plato, Marcus Aurelius, St. Augustine, St. Francis, Charles Wesley, and Cardinal Newman also appear.

Inevitably one has the question why, if some of these were chosen, were innumerable other great and familiar selections omitted? We know no answer to this inquiry, but rejoice in this little volume all the same.

J. H. H.

*"O World Invincible," edited by Edward Thompson. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co. $2.50.

Correspondence

The Hero of the Drama

Editor of UNITY:

Writing from Geneva, your special correspondent, Mr. Sydney Strong, in the April 4th issue of UNITY, blames, with some justice, the English-speaking nations for their lack of vision in the Disarmament Conference. "Who is to blame for this tragedy? (Denial of Russian Peace Proposal) Who is the 'villain' in this disarmament play? I am frank to say that it belongs to the English-Speaking nations."

Partly—Mr. Strong, but not wholly! If your centuries-old English heredity broils within you, what about those of us—equally proud and boastful of heredity from other lands—France, Germany, Italy, Greece and all the other countries?

As I sat there—in Geneva—in the same room at the same time you described and listened to the Litvinoff speech, urging total and universal disarmament, quite another hope and quite a different cry rose in my heart.

Not the Anglo-Saxon nations, not the English-speaking nations, not the Latin nations—not the Slavic nations, not the continents, nor the empires are at fault—in refusing to agree to total and universal disarmament today. It is only the non-universality of the League of Nations. How magnificent the Russian gesture—sincere as it was meant to be—could have been if, in closing his speech, Litvinoff, the mouthpiece of the greatest Slavic nation, covering one-sixth of the globe, had said—"Realizing that our hope—total disarmament—comes only with universal membership in a world organization, which is potent to settle disputes between nations by conference table method—we the great Russian nation will welcome in friendly manner, membership in this world organization. Then total and universal disarmament is a reality."

If the spokesman for the other great non-member republic, the U. S. A., had been empowered to say, at this First World Conference for the Limitation and Reduction of Armaments—"The American people—spending more than any other nation on armaments, is desirous of reducing financial burdens. The American people is awakening to the realization that their economic and financial problems are closely interwoven and interrelated with those economic and financial problems in every land and on every continent. Therefore—as their accredited delegate, I am empowered to say that drastic disarmament, one phase of this world crisis, can only be achieved by the close international co-operation which the world organization, the League of Nations, affords. In the certainty of solving these momentous world problems by international action, the United States is willing to welcome in friendly manner, membership in this world organization."

Then—only—Mr. Strong—can your Great Peace Proposal be a reality. Then only comes total and universal disarmament, for a universal world organization, just as a union of our American states, forbids the arming of individual states. It is not a question of Christian or Non-christian. It is beyond and above that—it is transmuting the hopes, the prayers, the vocal desires of all religions into a working organization for the brotherhood of all men. In this enlarged strengthened world organization, the separate spheres of economics and government can and must be drawn closer together, for mutual benefit. Political equilibrium is gained by peaceful adjustments of contentious frontiers and evolution of a method by which peaceful change of sovereignty over territory in dispute is definitely achieved. Then, *pari passu*—wipe off armaments.

These varying viewpoints as to the First World Disarmament Conference have a fundamental common factor —the intense desire for quick results. To vote down the Russian proposal—for the reasons explained above, is to take the path of slower but more assured construction of peace machinery. That way, hastened by the vocal insistence of the impatient peoples, is the wiser way. The hero at Geneva is undeniably the spirit of the League of Nations. That this spirit of tolerance and constructive compromise is gaining ground, we who have been to Geneva can testify. The "villain" at Geneva is the isolationist tactics of nationalistic Americans or nationalistic Russians, or nationalistic members of all nations. The heroine at Geneva is the insistence for peaceful settlement with and by the respect for treaties, entailing international obligations. Marry your hero to your heroine—in good American fash-

ion and world organization results. At that moment, there will be no national armaments to disband. Continuing World Disarmament Conferences will be held.

There will be total and universal disarmament.

ELVIRA K. FRADKIN.

Unemployment in England

Editor of UNITY:

In city, nation, world, there is much to discourage you and even the greatest optimist. But are you not painting too black a picture in UNITY of April 4?

Is it right on page 67 to say of "the business boom" which the Sino-Japanese conflict has brought to Europe—"For the first time in years, business is looking up, thanks to huge orders for military supplies from both China and Japan. Britain . . . is feeling the quickest and largest measure of prosperity. Her airplane factories for example are working overtime for the Mikado"? And at the same time, right for you to say on page 72—"Unemployment in England has increased from 9.7 per cent in 1927 to 21.3 per cent in 1931. Since January 1st the sum of unemployment has been steadily rising"?

Can it be that, in spite of their temporary and superficial "prosperity" on account of which "the European powers didn't want to stop the Asiatic conflict," on the whole unemployment in England has continued to increase steadily?

HAROLD K. ESTABROOK.

Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts.

[NOTE: This is acute as well as friendly criticism, for which we are grateful. It is to be noted, however, that the figures given for unemployment in England are for 1931. and, curiously enough, the latest report, received since our editorial notes were written, shows a cutting down of unemployment both in England and Germany. Whether this is a vindication of our editorial point, of course cannot be proved. But do we not know, as a matter of experience, that war always means a business boom for the time being? We may add that, in the issue of the *New Republic* for April 13th, H. N. Brailsford gives some added reasons why Europe, especially England, didn't interfere in China.—EDITOR.]

The I. L. P., the Labor Party, and India

Editor of UNITY:

In your last issue received (February 29th) I notice a reference to the *New Leader* as the organ of the Labor Party.

This is an error of no small importance. The *New Leader* is not the organ of the Labor Party but of the I. L. P. (*Independent* Labor Party). The I. L. P. is still affiliated to the Labor Party, but has long been in opposition to the right-wing and reactionary policy of the party bosses, and today a growing section of the I. L. P. is demanding disaffiliation from the Labor Party. The majority, however, still hope to capture the working class movement *through* the Labor Party and bring the latter back to a Socialist policy.

Your statement in the same issue that "the great Labor Party is whole-heartedly for Gandhi's cause" is unfortunately not justified by the facts. Need I remind you of the appalling events in India under a Labor Government in 1930? At that time MacDonald led the party and you may remember that I disputed your view that his government was preferable to that of Baldwin or Lloyd George. I think you will agree that subsequent events have fully justified my estimate of MacDonald, but we must not forget that the present Labor Party leaders are MacDonald's ex-colleagues who shared the guilt in 1930. Today they are in opposition and can afford to criticize and condemn measures identical with those used by themselves two years ago. I may be cynical, but I can see little in this but a political dog-fight. The Labor leaders are unchanged and unrepentant. They have not repudiated their past policy, and evade questions relating to it with opportunist excuses. If they return to power there is no reason to hope that their principles will have improved.

As you know I belong myself to *no* political party, but I have always found ready co-operation in the I. L. P. On the question of India the I. L. P. policy has consistently opposed that of the Labor opportunists, and the *New Leader* remained during 1930 the *only* paper here with a national circulation that did not suppress truth and publish falsehood so far as India was concerned. In a campaign in which I have been proud to assist, the former editor (John Paton) and now Fenner Brockway, who succeeded him, have shown up the Indian policy of the "Labor" and "National" Governments, each in its turn.

Do not let us deceive ourselves. The world's workers are still far from united. Our workers here have yet to realize that their own freedom and happiness stands or falls with that of Asia and Africa.

REGINALD A. REYNOLDS.

Lewes, Sussex, England.

Organized Religion and the Existing Economic and Social Order

Editor of UNITY:

A reply to Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver's *apologia* contained in his letter in UNITY calls for a reiteration of the difference between the liberal and the radical, and there's no need of going into that again here. One timely difference is that Rabbi Silver could swallow a talk like J. P. Morgan's, who can say "we all must do our bit."

The "relentless attitude" of mine, as the Rabbi puts it, is not toward the liberal in "economics" alone. Peace and war form another groundwork for the liberal and radical; as a matter of fact, the Rabbi knows the methods and positions of each pervade one's whole individual and social living. I am glad he is "big" enough to admit the radical's stand can be at times "in complete sincerity."

With regard to the authority of Mr. J. M. Keynes on the worth of the Soviet venture, I would advise that that British gentleman's disparaging evaluation isn't today worth the paper it's written on. Rather would I submit the judgment of the highest American authority on the question, that of Prof. Calvin B. Hoover in his "Economic Life of Soviet Russia": "the contribution to the fund of human experience and knowledge for which the Soviet system is responsible *cannot be denied.* It has proved that a Socialistic state can carry on the functions necessary for survival. It used formally to be denied that a Socialistic state could carry on at all. Such a denial *is no longer possible.*"

And as to "Das Kapital" being "an obsolete economic textbook," it is no more that than are such immortal works as the Book of Amos—another Jew—no, not with its sublime and grim doctrine of the class struggle.

Rabbi Silver "wishes to keep religion free to function as critic rather than as an apologist of a future Socialist regime." What he and his ilk are determined on is that their stand shall not be construed as taking sides—impartiality, you know! Call it pussyfooting, and soft-pedaling, that would be more like it. And after reading Tawney and Weber, who can deny that religion has been the apologist for the *present capitalist* order? The hands-off policy Rabbi Silver advocates for religion is on a plane with the ethical nihilism of Lippman, Krutch and Co. and the religionist knows the slough of despair and sterility that that lands you in. If Rabbi Silver would come along and speak out as brave men have in other walks of life, like Norman Montague of England and Harry F. Ward in America, to the effect that *Capitalism is through,* then he could be forgiven for talking of opposition. But not when he can write "the triumph of a broad economic liberalism which while safeguarding the indispensable requirements of social progress, individual enterprise, the stimulus of competition and private property, will yet wipe out those tragic extremes of excessive wealth and excessive poverty . . ." is the way the well-being of society will be secured (Page 140). That's liberalism all right, carrying water on both shoulders.

And I think there's little use going into the merits of Marxian as against parliamentary Socialism—not when the Rabbi sees these realities as "amusing," despite the fact that the churches—together with riches—have been deposited in the archives of the land of the said Lenin.

NATHAN ESSELL.

New York, N. Y.

Capitalism, Socialism, Communism

Editor of UNITY:

In the April 11th issue of UNITY there appears an editorial entitled, "Motives to Work in a New Social Order," by Clarence R. Skinner. In this article he asks: "What will produce an adequate amount of commodities to satisfy the needs of men?"

Surely, Mr. Editor, not a system which produces a situation where millions of men are not allowed to work for a period of years!

If the defenders of the capitalistic system point to

the progress of the last hundred years as evidence of their success let us not forget that they have progressed to a condition where over seventy percent of the wealth is in the hands of one percent of the people, and millions are very near to being without food, clothing and shelter. Plenty of progress for the one percent, to be sure.

Mr. Skinner, it seems, made a tremendous effort to be scholarly—presenting all sides with equal fairness. But some angles of the situation were neglected. I, no more than Mr. Skinner, have any desire to paint Capitalism entirely black and Communism white (or should I say Communism red and Guild socialism white?). Let us admit that Capitalism has served a purpose, but, we must add immediately that *it is no longer in a position to serve that purpose.*

If the capitalist system offers incentive to work but no jobs, what then? A high school or college graduate may be fired with all sorts of ambition but if he can find no work, of what use is the motive?

The capitalist will doubtless maintain that the present situation is temporary, but is it? Any capitalist economist will admit that since there is a profit made on all production and only a fraction of the value of the goods paid the worker, the system produces a surplus of commodities over and above what the people who produce the articles can buy back. Heretofore capitalist financiers have depended upon foreign markets and war to take care of this surplus. Foreign markets have become exhausted, and war—Well? Is that the way out?

The truth is that regardless of motive the capitalist system has outworn its usefulness, if it ever had any.

Now as to motives under either Guild or Marxian Socialism. Whatever Communists may state as to their motives for work the fact remains that motives to personal satisfaction through power, recognition and prestige do exist under any socialistic system. Under Socialism, however, these are gained through skill, professional excellence and the sense of work well done, or, in other words, through merit. Under Capitalism recognition, power and prestige are gained largely through the acquisition of wealth. For the most part *great* wealth is gained through graft, misrepresentation, crooked politics and exploitation —not by hard work or merit. This cannot be denied by any who know the facts.

If Communists are striving for a purely service motive they are only striving for what religion has always striven. What irony when Communists are supposed to be non-religious! Capitalism embraces religion but denies its main precept. Communism denies religion but embraces its chief principle.

But if the motive to service—the religious principle, alone, is not sufficient from the standpoint of motivation, there is no lack of motivation through merit in either Guild or Marxian Socialism. A statement which cannot be made of Capitalism.

Kalamazoo, Michigan. NAOMI B. AUXTER.

The Field

(*Continued from page* 146)

editors of newspapers will be interviewed and news stories secured. The car will carry a banner reading: "We are from ————.

We are going to Chicago,
We want peace planks
in party platforms.

Fliers and posters will be available and sold at cost for distribution along the routes. In so far as possible every college will be represented by a car. Organization cars will appear either in solid groups representing the organization or in the state groups as desired.

3. A Chicago committee will make any necessary arrangements so that cars from different states can make their overnight headquarters in the various small towns around Chicago. It is proposed that one general peace headquarters be opened in Chicago with separate organization booths.

4. On the second day of each convention there will be a procession of all state cars, swelled by local cars.

5. A hearing lasting probably two hours at least will be held before the resolutions committees. In this hearing it is believed that there can be complete collaboration among all peace groups represented in Chicago without complete agreement as to the planks proposed. It is hoped that a general platform declaration can be worked out recognizing the maintenance of world peace as a fundamental party policy with which other policies must be brought into harmony. In addition, individual organizations will undoubtedly present specific planks in which they are particularly interested. The object will be not so much to secure any particular plank as to demonstrate the strength of the demand for peace. It is anticipated that men as well as women will take part in these hearings.

6. A conference on peace strategy will be held during the week that will intervene between the two conventions. The apparent frustration of all efforts to secure Senate action on the World Court in this session is sufficient evidence that the time has come for the peace movement to give more attention in its activities to political considerations.

For further information write, "To Chicago" Plan, 532 17th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

A Tribute to Dr. Stephen S. Wise

Because Rabbi Stephen S. Wise is a true liberal; *because* he is a fearless fighter, an untiring idealist, and an uncompromising searcher for truth; *because* he has never hesitated to throw himself wholeheartedly, unreservedly into the breach whenever Jewish prestige was at stake; *because* he is the most colorful, impulsive and picturesque personality in American Jewry, Dr. Stephen S. Wise will always be remembered as a real leader of his time. Rabbi Wise has made many mistakes, so some people claim. He has more than once displeased powerful men and institutions. He has on various occasions preferred to bring his case to the front pages of the newspapers instead of battling it out in private. True. But Stephen S. Wise can and has risen to the most sublime heights reached by any Jewish leader. He has demonstrated time and again that at heart he has but one aim in life, that of making the world a better place to live in. As a Zionist he may not be a good tactician but he is an uncompromising Herzl-ist who would readily give his life for a real Jewish Homeland in Palestine. As a Rabbi he may be diverting too much of his brilliant abilities to irrelevant matters, but who will deny that he is only moved by his desire to help, to reform, to contribute to the solution of the great social and cultural problems of today. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, *because* of his intellect, and his all embracing understanding of human foibles, *because* of his moral courage and his dynamic personality is in the very front ranks of Jewish leaders, not only of today but of entire modern Jewish history. —*Baltimore Jewish Times,* March 25, 1932.

A Letter From Prison

My Dear friend and Rabbi:

I trust you received my previous letter. I couldn't wait for your answer for what I have to tell you, because to me it was and is a very impressive event in my life. This morning while rehearsing in the band room the door opened and Admiral Byrd walked in. I knew it was he, for I recognized him from his pictures. He was followed by several other men, but at first as he stood there alone and gazed at us, a feeling that is hard to explain shot through me. His hat, decorated in heavy gold braid and two medals on his chest. As we stood up, and saluted him, he said in a quiet voice, "How do you do, boys." Simple, with a sympathetic and yet interested look on his face, his gray hair brushed back, and steady blue eyes, he radiated a feeling of greatness. I put him in the class of men that are small enough to be big enough. We played a number for him and when we finished, he thanked us and spoke a few words to us and shook our hands. And as I shook hands with him I looked right at him and there flashed through my mind pictures of him flying the ocean and the welcoming crowds, which did not disturb him a bit. I could see him in a desolate, white and bleary world at the South Polar regions. I thought that if this man, to whom time and space are nothing, can condescend to shake hands with a convict, surely he is great. For his attitude all the time was one of kindness and sincerity and not of condescension at all. I felt small and ashamed to think I should meet such a man in here, of all places. It shows no matter where or what one is some good comes of it.

I hope you understand my feelings and can appreciate my position, I mean how would you feel meeting someone great in my surroundings. It is something I'll never forget. I only wished I might be more in this man's company and know him better, to talk with him and listen to him.

Sincerely your friend,

S.

The Parade of the Massacred Faces

"On Bastille Day (1927) Paris indulged itself in the luxury of what was called 'The Parade of the Massacred Faces.' They were the five thousand living dead men of France, men who were wounded seriously in the face during the war. The conditions that ensued in some cases are so hideous that even hospital surgeons accustomed to repair work turn away from them shocked at the sight. Some of the men had their faces completely torn away.

"It is easy to understand the profound impression this procession produced along the boulevards in Paris. . . . The New York *World* correspondent, writing about the effect produced upon others by this awful procession, said that 'strong men gnashed their teeth and women went into hysterics. There was a silence that froze the usually colorful boulevard with horror, . . . it was not for the sake of pity they would arouse that the men marched, but because they felt that it was well for the world to know that *this* was the harvest of war, and at the same time to appreciate that men can live down even a supreme misfortune of this kind. . . . They thus gave effective demonstration that men can be brave in peace as well as in war."

—*James J. Walsh, Ph.D.*
in "Laughter and Health."

Institutes of International Relations

The American Friends Service Committee is arranging three Institutes of International Relations for June. The New England Institute will be held at Wellesley College, June 23 to July 2. Its courses are designed for teachers, ministers, club leaders and others interested in promoting world peace. The distinguished faculty will include Rev. Leyton Richards of Birmingham, England; Sidney B. Fay, Hornell Hart, Pittman B. Potter, James G. McDonald, Norman Thomas, Harry D. Gideonse, Yusuke Tsurumi.

The Midwest Institute will be held at Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., from June 20 to July 2. The Haverford Institute will be held at Haverford College, Haverford, Pa., June 13 to 25. Full information can be obtained from the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia.

The Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America announces its Seventh Annual Seminar in Mexico to be held in Mexico City, July 3 to 23. Its morning conferences and round-tables are designed to give participants an unusually broad and intimate survey of the political, economic, religious, cultural and racial aspects of Mexican life. Full information can be obtained from Hubert C. Herring, Executive Director, 112 East 19th St., New York City.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom will hold its Seventh International Congress at Grenoble, France, May 15 to 19.

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